

**SENATE—Wednesday, March 17, 1999**

The Senate met at 10 a.m. and was called to order by the President pro tempore [Mr. THURMOND].

**PRAYER**

The Chaplain, Dr. Lloyd John Ogilvie, offered the following prayer:

Today, we celebrate Saint Patrick's Day. It seems appropriate to have a Gaelic blessing and then one of Patrick's prayers.

May the road rise up to meet you,  
May the wind be always at your back,  
May the sun lie warmly upon Your face,  
May the rain fall softly on your fields,  
And until we meet again,  
May the Lord hold you  
In the hollow of His hand.

Let us pray: Gracious Lord, we remember the words with which St. Patrick began his days. "I arise today, through God's might to uphold me, God's wisdom to guide me, God's eye to look before me, God's ear to hear me, God's hand to guard me, God's way to lie before me, and God's shield to protect me." In Your holy name. Amen.

**RECOGNITION OF THE ACTING  
MAJORITY LEADER**

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The able acting majority leader is recognized.

**SCHEDULE**

Mr. VOINOVICH. Mr. President, this morning the Senate will be in a period for morning business until 11 o'clock. Following morning business, the Senate will resume consideration of Senate bill 257, the national missile defense bill. Under the consent agreement reached yesterday, that agreement includes a limited number of amendments that may be offered to the bill and also limits debate time on each amendment.

In light of this agreement, the leader is hopeful the Senate will complete action on this legislation by early this afternoon. Following disposition of the bill, the leader has indicated the Senate may begin consideration of a Kosovo resolution and/or the supplemental appropriations bill. Therefore, Members should expect votes throughout today's session and during the remainder of this week. I thank my colleagues for their attention.

**MORNING BUSINESS**

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senate will now proceed to a period for morning business.

Mr. VOINOVICH addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Ohio is recognized.

**THE BIRTH OF VERONICA KAY  
VOINOVICH**

Mr. VOINOVICH. Mr. President, I want to bring to the Senate's attention the fact that we welcomed a new citizen into Ohio last night at 11:57, and that new citizen is my second grandchild, Veronica Kay Voinovich. Veronica is our second grandchild. Her grandmother and I welcome her and so do her other grandparents, Warren and Alice Fish. I apologize for not being in Cleveland last night for her birth, but it was necessary for me to be here to do the work of the Senate and to represent the people of Ohio and, hopefully, through those votes do something for her and the rest of the citizens of our great State.

**DAVID B. COOPER**

Mr. VOINOVICH. Mr. President, America's journalism pool got a little smaller last week as David B. Cooper, one of Ohio's most respected journalists, hung up his typewriter.

For almost 22 years, Dave was a powerful voice in Ohio, in charge of editorials and op-eds as the associate editor for the Akron Beacon Journal. Over the length of his career, Dave was never known to mince words or pull punches. He was brutally honest when he didn't think someone—usually a politician—was living up to expectations. And usually you didn't have to be reminded twice—you got the message. I will say that many politicians from the State of Ohio, including yours truly, worked very, very hard to live up to Dave's high expectations of us.

Dave's principles always shone through in the topics he wrote about. His analysis was precise and he showed genuine care about the issues in and subjects of his columns. And he worked hard to make sure that he was easily understood.

Dave's legacy is his journalistic leadership at the national, state and local level. He was outstanding. He began his career 44 years ago, writing for the Raleigh News and Observer and the Winston-Salem Journal and Sentinel during the 1950's and 1960's. In 1968, he started his association with Knight-Ridder newspapers by accepting a position with the Detroit Free Press.

It wasn't until 1977 that Dave saw the light and realized his calling was in the State of Ohio with the Akron Beacon Journal. The Ohio journalism corps has truly been enhanced with his presence.

I have enjoyed a wonderful relationship with Dave. He didn't always agree with me—and I certainly never expected him to—but he was always fair. In fact, I always looked forward to reading Dave's editorials just to find out how he thought my administration was doing.

For the last 2 years, Dave and I have shared something in common—we're both grandfathers, although I'm a little newer at being one than he is. There is sort of an unspoken bond between grandfathers that is readily apparent in the smiles we wear and the glint in our eye, as we regale others with the exploits of our precious little ones. Dave has four grandchildren and I know that he is more proud of them than any editorial or column he has written. In fact, Dave's best writing has been about his grandchildren!

One of the great things about the relationship Dave and I have is our mutual love of fishing. Many times when we've been talking about topics of the day, we've gone off the subject talking about fly-fishing techniques, favorite streams, or the one that got away.

Dave and I have done some fishing together, but not nearly enough. And even though Dave and his lovely wife Joanne are moving to California, I look forward to doing more fishing with him in the years to come.

And while I prefer polka, Dave loves jazz. Dave knows more about jazz—jazz records, jazz singers, and jazz history—than anybody I know. I suspect that his knowledge of jazz surpasses all but a few journalists in America. He even has a jazz radio show in Akron! He has written about jazz extensively and he never tires of speaking about it.

Mr. President, I want to close by saying I have immense respect for Dave. He is and always has been a true professional. And although I am sorry to see him retire, I am confident that the citizens of Akron have not heard the last from him.

Dave and I will always be friends. I wish him well as he and his wife Joanne embark on their new life together.

I notice that my colleague, Senator DEWINE, is on the Senate floor, and I yield the floor to him.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Ohio, Senator DEWINE, is recognized.

Mr. DEWINE. Mr. President, I join my colleague and friend, Senator VOINOVICH, in paying tribute to one of the leading figures in the history of journalism in the State of Ohio. My good friend Dave Cooper is retiring after 22 years as editor of the editorial

and opinion pages of the Akron Beacon Journal.

David B. Cooper began as a reporter with a genuine love for political journalism. After reporting for the Raleigh (North Carolina) News and Observer and Winston-Salem Journal and Sentinel, he joined the Detroit Free Press—where he moved over to the writing of editorials.

In 1977, the Akron Beacon Journal hired Dave to run its editorial and opinion pages. In that capacity, he has been more than just a principled observer and commentator on the political life of Ohio and America—he has also been a powerful force in the cultural life of his community.

Indeed, some of his best writing has been on music. In fact—since 1994—he has hosted a weekly jazz program on radio station WAPS.

The same feeling that infuses his writing and commentary on jazz is present in his political writing. Dave knows that if all you want is accuracy, you have merely to know your subject. And believe me, Dave knows the stuff he writes about! But he also knows that if you want to go beyond that—beyond mere accuracy toward the kind of deep understanding that goes to the heart of an issue—you must not just know, but love, your subject.

That's the kind of work that creates positive change in a community. It is the type of work that Dave has done.

Dave Cooper says his pet peeve is "politicians who are pompous." And that really reflects Dave's personality—he doesn't do what he does for his own ego; he does it to help people understand things. He does it to make a real difference. And that's why he holds people in public life to the same high standard.

I am proud to call Dave Cooper my good friend, and I wish him and Joanne well as they begin a new life.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. BINGAMAN addressed the Chair. The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. VOINOVICH). The Chair recognizes the Senator from New Mexico for 10 minutes.

Mr. BINGAMAN. Thank you, Mr. President.

(The remarks of Mr. BINGAMAN pertaining to the introduction of S. 638, S. 639, and S. 640 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

Mr. BINGAMAN. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. KERREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### FINANCING SOCIAL SECURITY WITH GENERAL REVENUES

Mr. KERREY. Mr. President, I rise today to talk about the financing of the Social Security program. The President's plan to reserve the surpluses for Social Security has presented us with an opportunity to have a discussion about the way Social Security is currently financed—and to have a debate about how we want to finance the Social Security system in the future.

I want to say at the outset that some of my colleagues on both sides of the aisle have closely examined the President's proposal to infuse the Social Security system with general revenues—and decided not to support a financing reform mechanism that does not lead to structural reforms. For my colleagues on the Democratic side who have decided not to support general revenue transfers to Social Security, this is a politically difficult position to support—but a commendable one.

With his plan to reserve the surpluses for Social Security, the President has helped me to understand for the first time that the Social Security program is facing a serious funding problem in the year 2013. I now realize that in 2013, the payroll tax dollars flowing into the Social Security program will no longer be large enough to fund the current level of benefits. As a result, the Social Security Administration will start cashing in its trust fund assets—those special-issue Treasury bonds—to pay for Social Security benefits.

The Treasury has to make good on these bonds by giving Social Security a portion of general revenues. This means that starting in 2013, Social Security beneficiaries have a claim on not only the payroll tax dollars, but also the income tax dollars of working Americans. Let me say that again, Mr. President. Starting in 2013, Social Security beneficiaries have a claim on both the payroll tax dollars and the income tax dollars of working Americans. So as not to mislead, let me say that these beneficiaries will also have a claim on other general revenues, such as corporate income tax dollars. Furthermore, in order for the Treasury to make good on these obligations without cutting discretionary spending, it is likely Congress will either have to raise income taxes or return to deficit spending.

Now under current law, this infusion of general revenues into Social Security is scheduled to end in 2032—at which point a future Congress will have to decide whether to raise payroll taxes or cut benefits. The President's proposal allows this Congress to pass the responsibility for enacting reform off to the Congress convening in 2055. Furthermore, what the President proposes to do is to fund a substantially larger portion of the program with income tax dollars. In fact, he is turning a

funding problem into a funding virtue by guaranteeing that future income tax dollars will continue to fund Social Security benefits until 2055. This means that the baby boomers will have an even larger claim on future tax dollars.

On how many future income tax dollars do the boomers have a claim? Well, in fact, the Social Security actuaries have quantified for us exactly how many more general revenues will be given to the Social Security program as a result of the President's plan. According to the actuaries, Social Security beneficiaries already have a claim on general revenues worth \$6.45 trillion in nominal dollars. President Clinton will commit an additional \$24.765 trillion in general revenues to the Social Security program between the years of 2015 and 2055—for a total of \$31.215 trillion in general revenues.

You heard me correctly, the President's plan commits an additional \$24.765 trillion of general revenues—\$4.85 trillion in constant 1999 dollars—to pay for Social Security benefits—above and beyond the 12.4 percent payroll tax that is levied on all workers. This chart demonstrates that in any given year we will be committing up to \$2 trillion of general revenues for Social Security benefits. If you look at this in terms of constant 1999 dollars, we are talking about \$200 to \$300 billion of general revenues that will be committed to Social Security each year in the 2030s, 2040s, and 2050s. If you look at it in terms of a percentage of GDP, the Clinton plan will divert general revenues worth 1.5 percent of GDP to Social Security for each year from 2032 through 2055. That is a general revenue transfer each year nearly as large as the entire defense budget.

Now it may come as a surprise to my constituents watching this at home to hear that the President is committing massive amounts of future general revenues to Social Security. And the reason they aren't aware of this fact is because he has made no effort to inform them. He has cleverly hidden his proposal behind the rhetoric of "saving the surplus for Social Security." If the President wants to openly make the case for funding more Social Security benefits through income tax dollars, let me be the first to encourage an open and honest debate on that very subject. In fact, it is a very Democratic argument to fund Social Security through the more progressive income tax rather than the regressive payroll tax. But I encourage him to enter this debate candidly and to explain to the American public the tradeoffs of infusing general revenues into the Social Security program.

I have heard the group of us who are working on substantive Social Security reforms—Senators MOYNIHAN, BREAUX, GREGG, and SANTORUM—referred to as the "Pain Caucus" because we advocate structural reforms to the system